

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00
INRE-00 ISO-00 /103 W
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O P 132305Z JUL 77
FM USMISSON USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4475
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 2250

GENEVA FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UN, US, SF, WA
SUBJECT: MCHENRY MEETS WITH UN COMMISSIONER FOR NAMIBIA

1. SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR MCHENRY MET JULY 8 WITH MARTTI AHTISAARI, UNITED NATIONS COMMISSIONER FOR NAMIBIA. DISCUSSION COVERED VARIETY OF ISSUES RELATING TO WESTERN FIVE INITIATIVE ON NAMIBIA AND REVEALED AHTISSARI'S FRUSTRATION AT LACK OF CONTINGENCY PLANNING WITHIN UNITED NATIONS CONCERNING NAMIBIA. ED SUMMARY.

2. AMB. MCHENRY MET PM JULY 8 WITH MARTTI AHTISAARI,
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UN COMMISSIONER FOR NAMIBIA, AT AHTISAARI'S REQUEST. CORDIAL, HOUR-LONG DISCUSSION CONCERNED WESTERN FIVE EFFORTS IN NAMIBIA AND WAS NOTABLE FOR REVEALING AHTISAARI'S FRUSTRATION WITH SYG WALDHEIM'S RELUCTANCE TO UNDERTAKE ANY CONTINGENCY PLANNING FOR UN INVOLVEMENT IN NAMIBIA. AHTISAARI IS ABOUT TO BEGIN THREE-WEEK VACATION IN FINLAND (JULY 16 - AUGUST 6) AND APPEARED ANXIOUS TO HAVE THOR-

OUGH UNDERSTANDING, BEFORE LEAVING, OF LATEST DEVELOPMENTS CONCERNING NAMIBIA. HIS ANXIOUSNESS WAS NO DOUBT HEIGHTENED BY RECENT SAG ANNOUNCEMENT OF APPOINTMENT OF ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL FOR NAMIBIA.

3. IN DISCUSSING WESTERN FIVE INVITATION TO SWAPO PRESIDENT NUJOMA TO MEET WITH CONTACT GROUP IN NEW YORK, AHTISAARI SAID THAT HE HAD ADVISED SWAPO UN REP THEO-BEN GURIRAB THAT SUCH A MEETING WOULD BE USEFUL FOR ALL. MCHENRY REPLIED THAT BEN GURIRAB HAD INDICATED PREVIOUSLY THAT JULY 11 DATE, ORIGINALLY SUGGESTED BY CONTACT GROUP FOR TALKS, WAS TOO SOON FOR SWAPO. HOWEVER, SWAPO HAS YET TO SUGGEST ANOTHER DATE. AHTISAARI THEN MENTIONED SWAPO'S EXPRESSED INTEREST IN HAVING ITS DELEGATION TO THE NEW YORK TALKS INCLUDE RESIDENTS OF NAMIBIA. MCHENRY REPLIED THAT SWAPO HAD REQUESTED CONTACT GROUP'S ASSISTANCE IN GETTING TWO NAMIBIANS OUT OF TERRITORY IN ORDER TO ATTEND NEW YORK TALKS. CONTACT GROUP HAD RESPONDED IMMEDIATELY BY SAYING THAT ONCE DATE WAS SET FOR TALKS, FIVE WOULD APPROACH SAG ON THIS MATTER. MCHENRY FURTHER ASSURED AHTISSARI THAT IF THERE WAS ANY PROBLEM WITH SAG ON THIS ISSUE, CONTACT GROUP WOULD USE ITS FULL WEIGHT TO ASSURE PRESENCE OF TWO NAMIBIAN RESIDENTS AT TALKS. AHTISSARI THEN STATED THAT HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR SWAPO TO TALK WITH FRONT-LINE STATES PRIOR TO NEW YORK TALKS BUT ADDED THAT, OF COURSE, THIS WAS UP TO SWAPO. MCHENRY
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REPLIED THAT CONTACT GROUP WOULD LIKE TO SEE SWAPO INCORPORATE VIEWS OF FRONT-LINE STATES INTO ITS PERSPECTIVE.

4. AHTISAARI THEN PROCEEDED TO ASK WHAT CONTACT GROUPS CONSIDERED TIME SCHEDULE ON NAMIBIA TO BE. MCHENRY ANSWERED BY SAYING THAT ANY SCHEDULE IS PROBLEMATIC. IN CONSIDERING POSSIBLE TIME SCHEDULE, HE ALWAYS WORKS BACKWARD FROM A DATE OF INDEPENDENCE OF DECEMBER 31, 1978. PRIOR TO INDEPENDENCE IT WOULD TAKE FOUR TO SIX MONTHS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY TO DRAFT CONSTITUTION. CONVENING OF CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY WILL HAVE TO BE PRECEDED BY AN ELECTION PERIOD AND SIX MONTHS OF CAMPAIGNING. BEFORE CAMPAIGNING BEGINS, IT WILL TAKE A COUPLE OF MONTHS TO SET UP ELECTION MACHINERY, TO COMPLETE PROCESS OF PEOPLE RETURNING TO TERRITORY, TO GET PEOPLE OUT OF JAIL, AND TO REPEAL DISCRIMINATORY LEGISLATION. MCHENRY WENT ON TO SAY THAT CONTACT GROUP HOPES THAT SWAPO TALKS WILL TAKE PLACE IN JULY, THAT NEXT ROUND OF SAG TALKS WILL TAKE PLACE IN NEW YORK IN AUGUST, AND THAT SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION OF MANDATE WILL TAKE PLACE BY MID-SEPTEMBER. MCHENRY FURTHER ADDED THAT LAST THING WESTERN FIVE WANT IS TO BE ACCUSED OF DELAYING PROCESS. CONTACT GROUP IS DEALING WITH TWO CONFLICTING

REALIZATIONS: 1) THAT THE LONGER THE PROCESS TAKES, THE MORE LIKELY IT IS THAT SOMETHING WILL COME ALONG AND DISRUPT IT; AND 2) THAT SPEED IS IMPORTANT TO SAG AND THAT SAG WOULD LOVE TO HAVE WHOLE ELECTION PROCESS CARRIED OUT BEFORE SWAPO HAS CHANCE TO GET POLITICAL CAMPAIGN MACHINERY GOING.

5. AHTISAARI THEN TURNED ATTENTION TO SAG'S RECENT ANNOUNCEMENT OF STEYN AS ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL. HE ASKED WHAT WESTERN FIVE KNEW ABOUT STEYN. MCHENRY REPLIED THAT FIVE HAD ONLY LIMITED BACK-GROUND INFO ON HIM AND STATED THAT WE WOULD HAVE TO COUNTER ANY PUBLIC IMPRESSION THAT UNILATERAL SAG ACTIONS REGARDING NAMIBIA HAVE APPROVAL OF FIVE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 2250

GENEVA FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

ON THE CONTRARY, FIVE HAVE REFUSED TO ENDORSE CONCEPT OF ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL. CONTACT GROUP IS PRESENTLY IN PROCESS OF TELLING SAG THAT FOR THEM TO ANNOUNCE PUBLICLY THE DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL WITHOUT CONSULTING WITH FIVE WOULD NOT HELP OUR EFFORTS TO

FIND INTERNATIONALLY-ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. AHTISAARI ASKED IF FIVE WERE TELLING SAG THIS PUBLICLY, AND MCHENRY SAID "NO". HE THEN WENT ON TO EXPLAIN THAT FIVE ARE STILL DEALING WITH TWO GROUPS (SAG AND UN) WHICH WILL CONTINUE TO WANT TO MANEUVER TO MAINTAIN THEIR LEGAL POSITIONS. THEREFORE, WE HAVE TRIED TO FIND SOLUTION WHICH ALLOWS BOTH GROUPS TO MAINTAIN THEIR LEGAL POSITIONS.
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6. AHTISAARI THEN ASKED TO WHAT EXTENT SAG MILITARY WOULD BE PRESENT IN NAMIBIA DURING ELECTION PROCESS. MCHENRY SAID THAT THIS QUESTION IS MOST SERIOUS ONE FACING CONTACT GROUP. HE CONTINUED SAY SAYING THAT CONTACT GROUP IS HOPEFUL THAT A PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF SAG MILITARY PRESENCE COULD OCCUR SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE INSTITUTION OF A UN MECHANISM TO CONTROL REMAINING SAG TROOPS. CONTACT GROUP HAS HESITATED TO SUGGEST HOW THAT CONTROL MIGHT BE EXERCISED, PREFERRING INSTEAD FOR SUCH PLANNING TO BE DEVELOPED BY UN. HOWEVER, CONTACT GROUP UNFORTUNATELY HAS FOUND SYG WALDHEIM VERY RELUCTANT TO DEVELOP ANY CONTINGENCY PLAN FOR UN INVOLVEMENT IN NAMIBIA WITHOUT FIRST RECEIVING ENCOURAGEMENT TO DO SO FROM SWAPO. TO THIS LAST REMARK, AHTISAARI REPLIED, "AH, YOU HAVE NOTICED THAT, TOO." HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE HAS HIMSELF TRIED TO GET UN TO BEGIN PLANNING FOR UN INVOLVEMENT IN NAMIBIA, BUT THAT: "THE WORD 'CONTINGENCY' DOES NOT BELONG TO THE UN VOCABULARY." MCHENRY THEN STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF UN CONTINGENCY PLANNING BY SAYING THAT SOUTH AFRICAN SIDE OF TRANSITIONAL AUTHORITY IS CLEAR BUT THAT UN SIDE IS VAGUE. TRANSITIONAL AUTHORITY WILL NOT GET SUPPORT FROM BOTH SIDES UNTIL UN SIDE IS CLARIFIED. MCHENRY WENT ON TO SAY THAT FIRST STEP TOWARD UN PLANNING IS TO GET SWAPO TO AGREE THAT UN CONTINGENCY PLANNING MUST START AND AGREE TO REQUEST SYG TO START PLANNING UNDER ANY MANDATE.

7. AHTISAARI SUBSEQUENTLY ASKED IF WESTERN FIVE HAD DONE ANY PLANNING AND FURTHER STATED THAT HE HAD HEARD IN WASHINGTON THAT US HAS COMMISSION STUDYING MATTER. MCHENRY REPLIED THAT US HAS COMMISSIONED AN ACADEMIC -- A FORMER STATE DEPARTMENT EXPERT ON UN PEACEKEEPING -- TO STUDY WHAT UN INVOLVEMENT MIGHT ENTAIL. THIS WAS DONE TO HELP
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US FORMULATE ITS OWN IDEAS ON THE MATTER AND ALSO BECAUSE IT WAS THOUGHT THAT SYG WOULD NOT DO ANY PLANNING ON

HIS OWN. MCHENRY EMPHASIZED THAT STUDY, WHICH WILL BE COMPLETED SHORTLY, IS A CONTRACT STUDY AND DOES NOT REPRESENT US POLICY OR OPINION. IT IS NOT A SECRET STUDY, BUT NEVERTHELESS US DOES NOT WISH TO MAKE IT PUBLIC BECAUSE IT DOES NOT REPRESENT US POLICY AND MIGHT BE CONSTRUED TO DO SO. AHTISAARI THEN PROCEEDED TO REQUEST DIPLOMATICALLY A COPY OF STUDY FOR HIS PRIVATE USE. MCHENRY CAREFULLY LEFT REQUEST UNANSWERED.

8. CONVERSATION THEN RETURNED TO WITHDRAWAL OF SAG MILITARY. MCHENRY SAID THAT HE HAD TRIED TO PUT HIMSELF IN SWAPO'S SHOES -- EVEN TO POINT OF ARGUING TO HIMSELF THAT ALL SAG TROOPS NEED TO BE OUT OF NAMIBIA IF FREE ELECTIONS ARE TO OCCUR. COMPLETE REMOVAL OF SAG TROOPS WOULD NECESSITATE REPLACEMENT BY IMPARTIAL TROOPS, POSSIBLY UN; HOWEVER, SAG DOES NOT TRUST UN, DOES NOT BELIEVE IT IMPARTIAL. AHTISAARI THEN ASKED HOW MCHENRY WOULD EXPECT SECURITY COUNCIL TO REACT TO IDEA OF UN TROOPS IN NAMIBIA. MCHENRY RESPONDED THAT IT WOULD NOT BE EASY TO OBTAIN SC ENDORSEMENT OF IDEA. THERE WOULD PROBABLY BE SOME SUPPORT BUT STRONG OPPOSITION FROM SOVIETS. CONTACT GROUP'S OVERALL PLAN GIVES TREMENDOUS POWER TO SYG. SOVIETS HAVE ALWAYS OPPOSED PLACEMENT OF SUCH POWER WITH SYG AND HAVE INSISTED THAT REAL POWER REMAIN WITH SC.

9. AS DISCUSSION NEARED AN END, AHTISAARI EXPRESSED APPRECIATION OF OPPORTUNITY TO TALK AT LENGTH WITH MCHENRY. HE FURTHER EXPRESSED FRUSTRATION OF HAVING HIS HANDS AND THE HANDS OF COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA TIED BY COUNCIL'S MANDATE. WHEN AHTISAARI ASKED HOW RECENT WESTERN FIVE BRIEFING OF COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA HAD GONE, MCHENRY REPLIED THAT WESTERN FIVE HAVE WORK TO DO THERE.

LEONARD

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Message Attributes

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